LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921 Editor: R. Palme Dutt

ECONOMIC STORM SIGNALS
The Editor

★

ALGERIAN MILITARY COUP
Fidel Castro : B. Rayane

★

COAL-WHAT NOW?
Mick McGahey

★

Prospects for Council Housing — Tom Vernon

International Liquidity — Throgmorton

Freedom for South Arabia — C. Enisah

AUGUST 1965

Two Shillings

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOUR MONTHLY

VOL. XLVII No. 8 AUGUST . 1965

CONTENTS

Page

Notes of the Month: Economic Storm Signals. *Clashes on Policy —Mr. Woodcock's Gloom—Fears of a World Slump—Talk of 1931—Generals Who Prepare for the Last War—Who said 'Increasing Misery'?—The Real Battle—Mr. Gunter on the Warpath —'Morality' of Napalm—Tory Offensive Against the Unions— Whither George Brown?—Trade Unions' Hour of Decision.....* **R.P.D.** 337

Coal—What Now? Leading miner calls for a change in Government Fuel Policy to solve the industry's crisis.....**Mick McGahey** 349

What the Conferences Decided. The significant resolutions passed by the Unions..... 351

The Algerian Military Coup.

1. **Castro Speaks.** Premier Castro analyses the events in Algeria .....**Fidel Castro** 354

2. **Algerian Students and the Coup.** General Secretary of Algerian Students gives their view.....**B. Rayane** 357

Prospects for Council Housing. Tenants' leader shows how expansion of housebuilding could be achieved.....**T. Vernon** 362

International Liquidity. Current proposals for increasing international currency reserves.....**Throgmorton** 368

Freedom for South Arabia. The Government's continuance of Tory policy must cease.....**C. Enisah** 372

Correspondence: Liner Trains.....**G. A. Wallace** 367

Karl Marx & the British Labour Movement... 376
C. Abramsky, H. Collins and A. Rothstein

Illustration. Hiroshima.....**Peter de Francia** 360-1

Forty Years Ago. The Miners' Struggle 353

Book Reviews: 'The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx', John Lewis: *J. R. Shanley;* 'The Worker and the Law', K. Wedderburn: *O. H. Parsons;* 'A Short History of the Labour Party', Henry Pelling: *Allen Hutt;* 'Essays on the Economics of Socialism and Capitalism', Edited by R. L. Smyth: *John Eaton.* 380

Local Asset.....**Helen Falber** 384

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notes of the Month

ECONOMIC STORM SIGNALS

In 1931 a Labour Government was swallowed up in a world recession and did not return for fourteen years. It would be a cruel irony if this were to happen a second time.

FINANCIAL TIMES, June 16, 1965.

July 19, 1965

The coming Trades Union Congress will have big questions to face. When it meets, the first parliamentary year of the Labour Government will have reached completion. The relationship between the trade unions and the Labour Government is at once intimate and distinct. No Government, least of all a Labour Government, can fail to take account of a decisive stand or expression of views of the organised nine millions of the Trades Union Congress, speaking in no small degree on behalf of the twenty-five million employed persons or vast majority of the adult population. The trade unions represent the main organised body of support of the Labour Government. The Labour Party is in historical fact the child of the trade unions. Hence there exists a deep traditional loyalty of the majority of organised workers to the Labour Party, or to a Labour Government, irrespective of the character of its current leadership or their policies. As D. N. Pritt has noted in his recently published first volume of his Autobiography *From Right to Left* (a book which every reader should study who wishes to learn something of the truth of the history of our times—a fuller review by R. Page Arnot will appear in a future issue of this journal): 'The loyalty of the rank-and-file of the Labour Party to their leaders, good or bad, is a formidable thing'.

Clashes on Policy

But this does not mean that there is any automatic agreement on policy. Nearly two millions opposed the Incomes Policy of wage restraint (thinly disguised as the 'Declaration of Intent on Prices and Incomes') at the Conference of Trade Union Executives in April. Even the six and a half millions who carried support at that Conference laid such stress on the loopholes and qualifying clauses as rendering the supposed norm inapplicable to their particular union that their subsequent practice, wherever the will of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

membership was strongly enough expressed to compel action, belied the formal vote. On the parallel crucial issue of the American barbarous war of invasion against the Vietnam people, the annual conferences of powerful unions have revealed overwhelming condemnation of the Government's subservience to the United States aggressors. On these and other crucial questions the coming Trades Union Congress will have to reach responsible decisions.

Mr. Woodcock's Gloom

Even though the General Council majority do all in their power to maintain support for the Labour Government's policies, and participate in Neddy and the little Neddies and the Prices and Incomes Board and the Royal Commission on the Trade Unions, the marriage is far from happy. This inner conflict has not infrequently found expression in the sceptical and even ambiguous rôle of the General Secretary, George Woodcock:

> Mr. George Woodcock, the General Secretary of the T.U.C., has developed a reputation recently for depression bordering on despair. It began long before the Labour Government took office. But it has not been cured by the presence of Mr. Harold Wilson at 10 Downing Street. Early this week Mr. Woodcock addressed a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party's trade union group. His mood remained gloomy. He told the assembly of parliamentary trade unionism that there were some mornings on which he woke up and wondered whether it was all worth it. There were other mornings, he said, when he woke up and felt that perhaps it was worth it after all.
>
> (London Letter, *Guardian*, February 13, 1965.)

Similarly at the Conference of Trade Union Executives in April which carried endorsement of the Incomes Policy his official apologia and his answers to the searching critical questions of the T.G.W.U. Acting Secretary Nicholas could hardly have been comforting to George Brown:

> I'm not sure what Mr. Brown, the employers and the General Council had in mind. . . . I'm not exactly sure what will happen with the Incomes Board. . . . We still do not know what will happen exactly. . . . This is not a plan. It is not even a policy. . . . I can tell you this, and Mr. Brown will not be pleased by it, there is not the remotest possible chance that incomes and wages will be kept down to three and a half per cent this year.

If such is the enthusiasm of Mr. Brown's official supporters in the trade union leadership, the flimsy camouflage of the Government's 'Incomes Policy', which was so unwisely accepted by the majority with a tongue-in-the-cheek vote at the April Conference, should by September, now that the experience of six months has shown the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

continued reckless soaring of profits and prices faster than ever alongside the attempts to curb wage demands, be highly vulnerable to a determined successful assault in favour of a realist trade union policy in the interests of the workers against the employers.

Economic Storm Clouds

Overshadowing all the particular issues, and especially the controversy over the Incomes Policy, as also over Vietnam, the 'East of Suez' military adventures and the consequent deficit in the balance of payments, is the menacing prospect of the present economic situation. The optimistic pictures of rapid recovery supposed to be drawing in view as a result of the measures taken by the Government, and basing the optimism on the returns for the first quarter of the year, have been replaced by gloomy forebodings in the light of the results of the second quarter. The second quarter revealed 'a deficit on current account seasonally adjusted of some £70-£80 million in April-June against a surplus of £6 million in January-March' (*Economist*, July 17, 1965). As the credit squeeze, increased taxation (by £600 million in two budgets, or nearly double the increases in social benefits) and restriction of consumption take effect, the fear of extending unemployment this winter rises. Following the closures of pits and railway lines, even the temporarily booming industries now fear the future. What will be the answer of the Trades Union Congress?

Fears of a World Slump

These signs of deterioration of the economic situation are not confined to the special conditions of Britain. They are manifesting themselves in a variety of forms in all the countries of world capitalism, with indications of shrinking of the world market and increasingly aggressive measures of the rival state monopolist groupings to battle for the world market, restrict imports, force up exports and, in the case of the United States and Britain, to correct deficits in the balance of payments. The rosy dreams of the marvellous 'new capitalism', whether of the 'miracle' of the Common Market, now threatening to fall asunder, or of the United States, now with over five million unemployed, or of the prospectus of the streamlined, scientific, modernised capitalist reorganisation promised by Labour's Electoral Manifesto, have begun to shrivel in the cruel light of reality. All the gimmicks and devices, whether of tax reductions in the United States or tax increases in Britain, of Kennedy rounds for

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tariff reductions or tariff increases in real life, of gold exchange and international currency juggling proposals, of Brussels Commissions to co-ordinate capitalism on the Continent or Mr. Brown's long incubated 'Economic Plan' due to be announced in September, have not been able to reverse the operation of the economic laws of capitalism.

Talk of 1931

Gloomy hints of forebodings of 'a new 1931' have now begun to find currency in the most exalted quarters. The Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank, W. M. Martin, caused a downward swoop in the stock market on June 1 when he declared that he found 'disquieting similarities' between the present prosperity in the United States and the speculative boom of the 1920s:

> Then as now, many Government officials, scholars and business men were convinced that a new economic era had opened, an era in which business fluctuations had become a thing of the past, in which poverty was about to be abolished, and in which perennial economic progress and expansion were assured.

'Wall Street Haunted by Ghosts of the 1920s' was *The Times* heading on June 7. Chancellor of the Exchequer Callaghan, reporting to parliament in the beginning of July on his visit to the United States and Canada, forecast a slowing down of world trade over the coming year, though not to the extent of 1931; and when questioned in parliament about the basis for his forecast replied on July 5:

> What I said was that there was an expectation that world trade would slow down. This is my expectation based on the advice I get.

By July 6 the *Financial Times* was proclaiming:

> The warning lights are flashing in every direction. . . . There is a real danger of a world recession in the foreseeable future.

At the end of the procession on July 9 the *New Statesman* was faithfully echoing the current official tune in a main article with scare headlines running across the page; 'Another Great Slump Ahead? Perhaps, And the Time to Act Is Now'.

Generals Who Prepare for the Last War

There are certain remarkable features about these gloomy official forebodings which have now become conventional in the highest quarters, and which are being made so current at the present moment, perhaps not entirely out of a purely impartial speculative spirit of analytic anticipation of market trends, but with a more practical purpose in view, to soften up public opinion for new un-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pleasant doses of medicine, and especially with an eye to the trade unions. First, these prophecies of woe come with remarkable glibness, and without a blush, from the selfsame oracles who only a few years ago were lecturing the poor benighted obsolete Marxists for their failure to understand that the 'new capitalism' of universal full employment and benevolent welfare had long ago finished with crises and slumps. Second, now that they begin to make their panic noises, they make them entirely in terms of the menace of a recurrence of 1931 and the consequent necessity of urgent steps to defeat that menace. Like the general staffs who used always to concentrate on preparing for the previous war, their attention is fixed on the memory of the preceding 1931 experience of the crisis of capitalism which dealt such a blow to reformist illusions until during the past two decades the familiar reformist weeds sprouted anew. But in reality we have reached a much deeper stage of the general crisis of capitalism, with far more complex conditions and a far greater variety of contradictions on the whole world scale. The old familiar phenomena of the burning of coffee in Brazil or of bacon in Denmark have begun to reappear. But there is much more that is horrifying, on a larger scale, in the world economic scene of capitalism today.

Who Said 'Increasing Misery'?

Let us take an elementary example, the facts of which are familiar to all. Endless have been the lectures delivered by the exponents of reformist illusions and the professional academic economists of capitalism to refute the fallacy of the Marxist theory of increasing misery arising for the masses of the people from the operations of capitalism—or rather, of their vulgarised distortion of that theory which they imagine to have been a prediction of constantly and inevitably falling wages. Gleefully they point to the gains won by wide sections in the imperialist metropolitan centres of exploitation of the world as a supposed refutation of Marx. They ignore the fact that Marx again and again and again emphasised that capitalism was a world system, and that its operation could only be fully analysed in terms of that world system. And now let us turn to what is actually happening in the real world today, as described by the Secretary of the United Nations this July:

> U Thant gave a warning today that, on present showing, there will be more people unemployed in the world and more suffering from hunger and malnutrition in 1970 than today. 'The misery of the developing world is a

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

progressive misery. It threatens to grow worse in the second half of the decade,' the U.N. Secretary-General said in his first report on the officially designated U.N. Development Decade.

(*Guardian*, July 5, 1965.)

A plain official non-partisan authoritative description—by a spokesman who cannot be accused of having any Marxist axe to grind—of the actual increasing misery of the majority of the population of the capitalist world today (for the peoples of these 'developing' countries, either colonial, or more often, ex-colonial but still suffering from colonial economies and exploitation, are the majority of the population of the capitalist world).

Blind Leaders of the Blind

So here we have a plain statement, so plain that none can escape it, setting out as on a blackboard in letters a mile high for dunces to read, the hard fact of increasing misery of the majority of the population of the capitalist world, proclaimed, not as a theoretical dogma, but as a key fact of the problem of the present world economic situation of capitalism. Do the dunces read the lesson on the blackboard? Certainly they read it. They recognise the indisputable fact. They deplore it. But a solution? They will offer any alternative to the fight against imperialism. Perhaps, for the kind-hearted, Oxfam? Give a penny from your abundance to the starving poor, who are poor because their poverty is the foundation of the abundance. Birth control as the supposed solution? The ghost of Malthus rides again, with fallacious theories to buttress reaction, no longer against the French revolution, but today against the socialist revolution. Aid? Certainly, if it is real aid for development and not for strategic or commercial domination or maintaining reaction. But a stage has now been reached when a heavy proportion of new aid goes to pay the interest on the old, and new aid is even refused because the limit of the possibility of extracting wealth from the poor country has been reached to pay the interest and repayment charges to the imperialist lending countries, while the return they receive for more and more exported produce becomes relatively less and less. There is no by-passing the problem of imperialism and the necessity for changing colonialist economic relations if the real problems of the present world economic situation are to be tackled. But that means a very different policy from the 'East of Suez' policies of Mr. Wilson and Toryism and President Johnson.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Real Battle

There is no question of the gravity of the present economic situation in Britain and in world capitalism. But it is precisely this situation which requires a break with the policies of Toryism and imperialism. It is not the high consumption of the people or wage increases which are the cause of the trouble. It is the monstrously inflated ever rising Government waste (non-social) expenditure, consequent ever increasing inflation of the currency, and ever rising high profits, which are the expression of the unbalance, while the resulting fight for wage increases toils behind. If we take the recorded statistics for May 1965, compared with May 1964, during these twelve months profits rose 18·25 per cent (Exchange Telegraph Service), dividends rose 11 per cent (*Financial Times*), prices rose 5·1 per cent (government statistics), wage rates rose 3·9 per cent (government statistics), and weekly earnings 4·7 per cent (government statistics). The real battle from the standpoint of the workers and the mass of the people is inescapable. Yet the whole brunt of the attack, conducted in the name of the gravity of the economic situation, is directed against the workers and the consumption standards of the people and against the trade unions, instead of against the real enemies. And Government Ministers, Mr. Callaghan, Mr. Brown and Mr. Wilson have by their speeches joined in and encouraged this offensive.

On Guard

If Labour Government Ministers were to lead the fight against the waste expenditure of imperialist military policies, against the policies of Toryism and against the dictation of City and foreign financiers, they could count on the whole-hearted support of the working class, the trade union and labour movement and the masses of the people. But this is not what they are doing when they call for support and sacrifices from the workers in the name of the gravity of the economic situation. On the contrary. They call for sacrifices from the workers in order to save and reorganise and strengthen capitalism, and to pay for the extravagant imperialist and colonialist war policies, the cold war and anti-socialism. As the economic difficulties arising from these policies increase, whether administered by a Tory or a Labour Government, the offensive is more and more openly proclaimed from high financial quarters, from Tory spokesmen and from the hired pens of the millionaire press to demand sterner measures against the workers and the standards of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people, more measures of restriction and deflation, increased unemployment to cripple their collective bargaining power, and new legislative provisions to cut the claws of the trade unions. And Labour Government Ministers, so far from opposing this clamour, have joined their voices in it. The honeyed tones of the first phase of putting over the Incomes Policy ('Come into my parlour!' 'Dilly! Dilly! Come and be killed!') have given place to the open language of threats. This is the situation which the Trades Union Congress has now to face.

Extending Offensive

In the April Notes we recorded already the opening of this 'Financiers' Offensive'. In January the Chairman of I.C.I. called for 'greater restriction of demand in Britain'. In the same month Lord Plowden, in the 'keynote speech' of the joint conference of the three employers' organisations on the eve of amalgamation, called for 'increased transitional unemployment'. In the same month the *Financial Times* called for an increase in the unemployment rate from 1½ per cent to 2 per cent. In February the Governor of the Bank of England gave his notorious public orders to the Government for 'moderation in those activities at home which could be deferred' (note the 'at home'; nothing about the 'East of Suez' mania). In the same month the semi-official National Institute for Economic and Social Research, financed jointly by the Treasury and business interests, called for increased taxation by £300 million to restrict home demand and pay for overseas government expenditure and private overseas investment.

Mr. Gunter on the Warpath

Since that review in April this offensive has increased in vehemence, equally from Tory spokesmen, from the press and from Government Ministers. The Minister of Labour, Mr. Gunter, has especially distinguished himself in this field. At the Co-operative Party Conference on April 16 he called for 'discipline' and 'moral standards' and denounced 'the great rash of unofficial strikes':

> The country has been living on borrowed money for a decade. To get out of debt requires discipline. Some of the old-fashioned phrases and virtues are regarded with some contempt in modern circles. But it remains as true today as ever it did that discipline and the will to earn an honest living are still of paramount importance. One example of our current distress is the great rash of unofficial strikes that have arisen over the past few years. The damage they do to the economy can sometimes be frighten-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> ing. . . . An incomes policy is really all about honesty and discipline. . . . There is a tendency to disregard the moral principles upon which an incomes policy must ultimately depend.

Long experience has taught that when a politician lards his speeches with talk about 'morality' (the Horatio Bottomley style) his hearers can be justly suspicious. But the formula 'the will to earn an honest living' to describe the defence of the interests of the profiteers and parasites is really laying it on a bit thick. On May 19 Mr. Gunter returned to the attack, and at a luncheon of 250 industrialists denounced workers 'willing to receive, but not to earn high wages'. If this goes on, he continued, 'indiscipline and selfishness' of the people will prove that a 'free society' cannot exist in Britain 'in the way we should wish it to exist'.

'Morality' of Napalm

On June 7 Mr. Gunter, this Minister of Labour so acceptable to the monopolists, was at it again, this time at the Co-operative Congress:

> There is far too much indiscipline in every part of this nation today. It is only when the nation realises and understands that there are underlying moral standards to which we should be obedient that the Labour movement is going to achieve everything it wants to achieve, or we shall perish as a Labour Party. The Labour Party, the trade unions and the Co-operative movement have somehow receded from the moral standards on which they had come into being. I do not believe there is any purpose in the Labour movement unless it has a moral background.

The high 'morality' of napalm bombing, obliterating leper hospitals with high explosives and killing the leper patients and their doctors, spending £500 million to maintain military domination East of Suez (Mr. Wilson's reply in the House of Commons on June 1 stating this figure to be correct), and then calling on the workers to make sacrifices to pay for this and lecturing them for lack of 'discipline' and 'morality' if they fail to respond. Thank you, Mr. Gunter. You have not changed our opinion about politicians who lecture the people on 'morality'.

Tory Offensive Against the Unions

In this gathering offensive campaign Tory spokesmen have concentrated on demands for legislative action to curb the trade unions. The appointment by the Labour Government of a Royal Commission on Trade Unions was regarded as a success for this campaign. On May 26 the Conservative leader, Home, indicated that a Con-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

servative Government might introduce legislation on the trade unions without waiting for the report of the Royal Commission. On June 5 the *Economist* said that if any incomes policy is to succeed, the essential necessity is to show 'willingness to stand up to strikes'. A Conservative Government which came to power next year, this editorial article continued, should put through an Act reforming trade union law. This 'might be bitterly opposed by the trade unions, but that opposition would simply have to be out-faced'. On June 10 at the Manufacturers' Section of the London Chamber of Commerce, the Conservative Chairman, appointed by the Labour Government, of the Prices and Incomes Board, Aubrey Jones, said that if public opinion cannot be won over for the aims of the Board, then 'some instrument of sanctions' will be necessary. On June 18 Iain Macleod at a business men's luncheon in Manchester said that, as the trade union movement would not 'reform itself', and as the Labour Government 'dared not act', the Conservatives would have to 'take a strong line with the trade unions', particularly by making participants in unofficial strikes involving breach of contract financially liable. On June 24 the House of Lords adopted its amendment to the Trades Disputes Bill, making illegal threats of strikes which aim to 'intimidate'.

Battle Joined

All this Tory offensive has not gone without response from the trade union side. On June 23 George Woodcock denounced these attacks, illustrated in the aggressive speech of Macleod five days earlier, as threatening industrial relations, and warned that the result would be to make trade union rights 'an election cause'. On June 25, the day following the House of Lords amendment, the Conference of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions adopted an emergency resolution demanding withdrawal of the Lords amendment. George Woodcock threatened that the T.U.C. might be driven to advise unions to strike without notice. 35 Labour M.P.s the same day tabled a motion urging the Government 'to take steps to remove all powers of the House of Lords to delay legislation'. On June 26 *The Times* advised the Lords not to insist, and not to provoke 'the most powerful extra-political interest in the State'. On June 27 Macleod denounced Woodcock's statement as 'gross impertinence'; 'the trade unions cannot tell parliament what to do'. He threatened 'radical trade union legislation which I am confident the next Tory Government will undertake'. In July the Transport

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and General Workers' Union Conference, in addition to decisively rejecting the Incomes Policy, despite a special written appeal from George Brown, and resolutions calling on the Government to dissociate itself from American policy in Vietnam, demanding a drastic reduction in the arms burden and removal of all Polaris bases, and calling for recognition of the German Democratic Republic, adopted a further resolution for the abolition of the House of Lords.

Whither George Brown?

But where in this gathering battle does the Labour Government stand? Ministers' speeches have been more and more conspicuously concerned to lecture the workers and threaten the trade unions rather than denounce and resist this Tory offensive. Foremost in this has been George Brown. As the failure of his Incomes Policy has become more and more obvious even to its supporters, with profits and prices soaring at an unprecedented rate, and as opposition has grown in the trade union movement, his utterances have taken on increasingly the tone of dire threats of the future alternative. In his speech at Cardiff on July 12 he is reported as saying:

> If we don't make a go of this, it will happen some other way. If we do not get reasonable price stability, and the relation of incomes to productivity through voluntary co-operation, it will have to come in some other way: whether, as so often in the past, through deflation and unemployment in the under-use of resources and discouragement of investment, or the abandonment of the voluntary principle and its replacement by something else.

Similarly at Bristol on July 3:

> Our whole capacity to pay our way in the world is at stake. Therefore I appeal to everyone who was concerned with the economic declaration of intent to honour their signature. . . . If wage earners and business men, unions and employers, could not voluntarily curb this spiral, other means would have to be used. You have had it the Tory way, through deflation, by unemployment, by pay restriction in the public sector. This will happen again unless we are all now prepared to be strong enough to achieve it in a planned national co-operative way.

The language of threat is here indeed open.

Trade Unions' Hour of Decision

Such is the situation facing the Trades Union Congress in September. It will require active response and positive decisions. Tory political commentators are already speculating, as in the extract

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the *Financial Times* cited at the head of these Notes, on the prospect of the difficulties of the present economic situation bringing the Labour Government down. It is not in the interests of the working class that the Labour Government, despite its gravely unsatisfactory record and policy, should be brought down so long as the progressive forces of the working class, represented by the left, including the Communists, with increasing influence in the trade union and labour movement, are not yet strong and united enough to take over responsibility, and so long as in consequence, in the immediate existing electoral situation, the alternative would be a Tory Government. But it is the vital interest of the trade union movement to defeat the offensive against the unions. It is the vital interest of the entire trade union and labour movement to fight for and compel the changes in policy which are essential if the present problems are to be tackled in the interests of the working people and not in the interests of the monopolies and imperialism. Here the Trades Union Congress will have a crucial part to play. There are immediate concrete issues, and especially wage policy, Vietnam, arms expenditure, and defence of union rights, on which specific decisions will have to be taken. The Transport Union and other major unions, together with many medium-sized and smaller unions, have given a lead on these issues. The sequel will be the responsibility of this year's coming Brighton Trades Union Congress.

R.P.D.

There's a little slice of America that's not all green . . .

You can take a look at this other America through the pages of the progressive newsweekly

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

- *a dead-end foreign policy*
- *frustrations in the fight for Negro rights*
- *the crisis in jobs, housing, schools*
- *who's for progress, and how*

Subscribe to NATIONAL GUARDIAN today

through the London Bureau, 67 Covington Way, London S.W.16

1 year sub. - - - 60s. 1 year student sub.- - - 36s.

13 week introductory sub. 10s.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COAL—WHAT NOW?

Mick McGahey*

THE return of a Labour Government in October 1964 raised the hopes of the mining communities that action would be taken to solve the crisis that had afflicted this basic industry ever since the recession in 1957. The continued intrusion of residual fuel oil into the traditional coal market had resulted in a speed up of closures and economic, social and personal havoc for thousands of miners.

Had not the Labour opposition and the whole Labour and trade union movement in Britain committed itself to a definite course of action which recognised that Britain required an overall Fuel Policy, which gave coal its rightful place in the energy requirements of the country, and that a minimum target of 200 million tons could and should be planned for in the years ahead? The Labour spokesmen in opposition had in fact consistently argued for this policy. They were pledged, on becoming the government, to implement the necessary measures in order to achieve a viable industry, producing 200 million tons, giving the industry and the miners a security that it obviously lacked under the Tories. But the bird has come home to roost; the day has arrived for talk to transfer itself into action. What is the result?

The breezy air of Margate, where the National Union of Mineworkers' Conference was held this year, was soon sweeping away the illusions which had been nurtured over the years that only a return of a Labour Government could save the mining industry; that given such a government the coal industry would find a new lease of life, and an end would be put to the pit closures, redundancies and transfers which had cursed the present generation of miners over the last decade. The conference had no sooner opened than the President, Mr. Sydney Ford, was warning us that we required a 'fundamental change in the attitude of the Government' if we were to save the industry. He drew attention to the 'reluctance on the part of the Government to give any *firm* undertaking that its policy in relation to fuel and power would provide for the productive capacity of the coal mining industry to be maintained at about 200 million tons per annum'.

What has happened? Has the transfer from opposition to Govern-

*Mr. McGahey is Vice-President of the Scottish Mineworkers.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment brought about a change in policy? The answer was soon on hand and it was delivered with all the paternal verbiage that usually surrounds a broken pledge by Mr. Fred Lee, M.P., Minister of Power. Following a long introduction about the short-term actions which he and the Government had taken to assist coal (which in practice meant nothing) in face of the consistent and damaging competition of the oil monopolies, he proceeded to administer the bitter pill. 'This is not' he said 'a question of setting a target of 200 million tons of coal or any other figure: it is a question of trimming down the uneconomic parts of the industry so that the efficient, economic part is no longer handicapped and can forge ahead on its own.'

The body blow had been delivered, everything else fits into the pattern. The relief in the National Coal Board's liability to the Exchequer by writing off some £400 million is linked to the primary aim of whittling down the industry; the pill is sugared by talk about special funds to speed the disappearance of uneconomic pits. So much for pledges! But what of the miners? What about this industry that provides a livelihood for half a million workers, that laid the basis for industrial development in Britain? Are they to be written off so easily, or will they fight back and if so, around what programme? This is what Margate failed to decide. The leadership presented no alternative but indicated their willingness to co-operate with the Robens bandwagon. Only when the rank and file spoke up, such as the Derbyshire rank and file speaker, could you feel the real sentiments of the miners were being expressed and the real needs of the nation being placed in proper priority.

That mining has a future, should not be doubted by anyone who has the nation's interest at heart. The struggle to re-establish Britain as an independent power, in itself demands that she must be free from dependence on outside sources of energy, which places a heavy strain on the balance of payments and involves the use of troops in order to protect the oil fields for the monopolies. Coal lies under our soil in abundance; we have the most experienced and skilful technicians in the world; and a labour force exists that can utilise all that is best in the new mining techniques. It is not the industry that is wrong, it is the policies of those in control. Here lies the challenge to the labour movement: to fight for a change in policy; to ensure that the Government carries through its pledges not only to the miners but to the British people, that the industry will provide the main base load of the energy requirements of the country. But the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

alternative policy must stand in sharp contrast to the present road to disaster. It must be based on the maximum utilisation of our coal reserves linked to a more progressive policy for increased wages, pensions and improved fringe benefits in order to regain the confidence of the miners and end the drift from the industry.

The miners have given much to the movement and to the country. Is it too much to ask that the whole movement be mobilised now and campaign to ensure that Labour keeps to its pledges, meeting the needs of the industry and the requirements of the country?

WHAT THE CONFERENCES DECIDED:

[*As a service to our readers who might like to have them for easy reference, we print below the significant resolutions (or part thereof) on the important issues of the present day, passed at Union Conferences. —Ed.*, L.M.]

On Peace:

IN VIEW of the crippling burden of military expenditure both at home and overseas, which is the major cause of the economic problems facing the country, conference calls for a drastic reduction in the arms burden and the restriction of overseas bases to an absolute minimum.

Transport & General Workers' Union Resolution.

Conference calls upon the Government to carry out its declared policy to publish disengagement plans for establishing nuclear weapon free zones in Central Europe, Africa and South America. We also ask that a world conference be summoned to implement disengagement plans, which in our view, is the next logical step, following the 1963 Moscow Test Ban Treaty, towards complete disarmament, a state that all governments purport to strive for.

National Union of Railwaymen Resolution.

Urges the Government to initiate a drive aimed at the international abolition of nuclear weapons and a reduction of conventional arms.

National Union of Mineworkers' Resolution.

Confirms its opposition to Polaris bases in Britain.

Transport & General Workers' Union Resolution.

Conference also strongly protests against proposals to allow Germany any control or authority over nuclear weapons.

Transport & General Workers' Union Resolution.

On Incomes Policy:

Whilst appreciating the need for a fairer distribution of incomes, conference considers that a productivity, prices and incomes policy can only succeed on the basis of an extension of public ownership and control, and the increased control of prices and profits, recognising that the economy is still basically one of 'free for all' in which higher prices and profits can be maintained by private interests. In these circumstances, con-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ference re-affirm the right of the union to progressively move forward on the basis of free industrial negotiations in the belief that higher wages and better conditions associated with the efforts to increase production wherever possible, are in the best interests of the membership and the community as a whole.

Transport & General Workers' Union Resolution.

That this conference welcomes the economic policies initiated by the government since assuming office. We believe that the foundations are being laid for the achievement of a stable economy, higher living standards and a greater measure of social justice for the working classes.

Part of successful Resolution passed at National Union of Railwaymen.

Opposes wages restraint until such time as a future A.M.G. or the National Executive Committee agree that prices or commodities and services have been stabilised, mortgage rates to councils and owner occupiers drastically reduced and a clear indication given that the income and prices policy will offer priority to community welfare at the expense of private profit.

Part of Amendment lost by 33 votes at National Union of Railwaymen.

On Trade:

Conference declares that the expansion of trade between nations is essential to improve economic and political relations in the world. Whilst welcoming the initiatives displayed by the Labour Government in making direct contact with the countries of the Eastern bloc to create new markets, Conference proposes that efforts should be made to convene a world trade conference under United Nations authority.

Transport & General Workers' Union Resolution.

Conference sends a strong plea for action by Mr. Wilson to bring down all remaining barriers to East-West trade.

National Union of Mineworkers' Resolution.

On Vietnam:

This annual delegate meeting is appalled at the destruction of life in Vietnam and alarmed at the danger of the war spreading. It calls upon the Government to dissociate itself from the present American policy in Vietnam, and to use all its influence to bring the fighting to an end and press for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country. It calls for negotiations to achieve an agreement that will leave the Vietnamese free to decide their own future.

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers' Resolution.

That this Conference, recognising the need for the Government to do all in its power to promote peace in Vietnam, urges the Government in its capacity as co-chairman of the Peace Conference of 1954 to call for the removal of all foreign troops and to dissociate itself from American policy over Vietnam, and to continue to press for immediate talks.

Transport & General Workers' Union Resolution.

On China:

Britain's United Nations representative should vote for the admission of Peoples' China to the United Nations at the first opportunity.

Transport & General Workers' Union Resolution.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unanimously call on Mr. Wilson to insist on the admission of the Chinese Peoples' Republic to the United Nations.

National Union of Mineworkers' Resolution.

On Transport:

The Annual General Meeting is greatly disturbed at the delay in formulating a national transport policy based on the social and economic needs of the country. It is particularly disturbed at the continuance of the Beeching policy on line closures, resulting in the disappearance of many branch lines, stations, depots and workshops. The A.G.M. calls upon the Government to introduce legislation immediately to give the Minister of Transport power to revoke line closure decisions taken by his predecessor; halt all further closures, including withdrawal of passenger, freight, parcels and goods services; rapidly bring about the much-needed co-ordination of the whole of the nation's inland transport system; and repeal the 1962 Transport Act and replace it with an Act providing for a fully co-ordinated transport system based on socialist principles.

National Union of Railwaymen Resolution.

On the German Democratic Republic:

Calls upon the British Government to grant recognition to the German Democratic Republic as a means of promoting world peace.

Transport & General Workers' Union Resolution.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

THE MINERS' STRUGGLE

Is there a crisis in the mining industry? . . . Yes. . . . The crisis is both economic and political. . . . Faced by this enormous crisis, such as would tax all the energy and resourcefulness of the pioneers of capitalism in the time (long past) when capitalism was a productive force, what had our present lords of the mine and minerals beneath the earth put forward as a solution? . . . They say that 'if the cost of production is reduced it would solve the problem' . . . they are deliberately shutting their eyes to the real difficulties. Because, if they were to admit the full extent of the problem, then their darling desire, their pet remedy for everything, namely, to cut wages and lengthen hours—would be shown up as a hollow remedy. . . . There is still another motive behind these demands. That motive is the desire to teach the miners a lesson. I know they are saying it, some of them, 'Let us have an end of these strikes, and disputes, and troubles, once for all! Let us give the miners, and the other damned Trade Unionists, something they will not forget!' . . . We have got to fight. . . . . A retreat now might well prove a turning point not only for the miners but for the whole of British Trade Unionism. . . . But more important than the support of any particular organisation is the support of the mass of the workers themselves. If we can have our fellow trade unionists fully understanding the miners' case, and how it is their own case also, we shall have the backing, both in sympathy and in action, which is worth more than anything else.

(From *'The Strategy of the Miners' Struggle'* by Herbert Smith, President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, *Labour Monthly*, August 1925.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ALGERIAN MILITARY COUP
Part 1: Castro Speaks

Fidel Castro*

'IT is not pleasant—and usually dangerous—to pass judgment on events in other countries. This is even more painful when it is a matter of events taking place in a country whose people have heroically won the support of all the world; when it is a matter of events taking place in the midst of a revolutionary process which has aroused the interest of the peoples struggling against colonialism and imperialism . . .' Fidel declared that by expressing opinions on events there was no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of another country. 'But we do reserve the right to analyse events which affect the rest of the world, which affect the revolutionary feelings of the world, and because in this particular case, the events in Algeria affect us all.'

Fidel Castro mentioned the case of Egypt ten years ago, of General Gamal Abdel Nasser and the events which led to the overthrowing of King Farouk, aimed at the achievement of independence in the face of an oligarchic regime. This action could be qualified as a revolutionary military action from the very beginning. The mere fact that the action was against the anachronic form of government and against the vested interests which exploited the country, justifies the description of this action as revolutionary. 'The circumstances prevailing then were radically different to those existing at the time of the Algerian events.'

Analysing the situation in Algeria, he declared that the military coup is 'in the first place a painful clash in the revolutionary ranks . . . in which the weapons and force are turned against revolutionaries, not against a feudal king, not against the representatives of imperialist interests . . . but against the representatives of the Algerian revolution, against a revolutionary and anti-imperialist fighter, against a fighter whose standing in the world, in the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, grew within a few years to one of considerable prestige, in his country and abroad. The weapon of the revolution and the people are turned against he who was, without doubt, supported by the people, against he who undoubtedly represented the majority wish of the people.' These were not opin-

*Summary of a speech made in Havana, reproduced from Prensa Latina.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ions but clear facts, for who can deny the rôle Ben Bella played in the Algerian revolution and the struggle for independence? And referring to charges that Ben Bella was not a revolutionary and that he was a conservative, a reactionary and a despot, Fidel asked, 'what government, what party had said before the overthrowing of Ben Bella' that he was all these things?

He went on to say that the Afro-Asian Conference and the Youth Festival were to have been held in Algeria and not in a country governed by pro-imperialist agents such as South Vietnam, South Korea, Formosa and Malaysia, by the unanimous decision of the progressive and revolutionary movements of the world. When the *coup d'état* took place in Algeria a difficult situation was created for Cuba because the latter had always had very good relations with the government overthrown 'in which we saw the real representative of the revolution. Our relations with the President Ben Bella were simply the expression of our relations and our sympathy for the Algerian revolution and the Algerian people.'

The Cuban people would never forget, declared Fidel, how on the eve of the international crisis of October, 1962, Ben Bella accepted an invitation to visit Cuba in spite of imperialist pressure. He recalled Ben Bella's visit and that they had explained to him the strategy Cuba was following to meet the U.S. attack. Fidel then mentioned the question of the strategic weapons and their presence in Cuba at the time and said that history will in the end clarify all the facts in this connection. As far as the Cuban-Algerian joint communique issued at the end of the visit was concerned, it was Ben Bella, and not the Minister of Foreign Affairs who maintained a clear and radical stand.

When Algeria and the revolution faced great difficulties, Cuban aid, in the form of men and arms, arrived to help the Algerian revolutionaries. 'And when our men went there,' he continued, 'they who have turned their arms in fratricidal struggle against Ben Bella were at his side.' In this way, he declared, Cuba had fulfilled her duty of proletarian international solidarity.

Fidel pointed out that in the international arena, the most revolutionary positions were always sustained by Ben Bella and not by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdel Assis Bouteflika, 'whose insubordination marked the culminating moment' of the ousting of Ben Bella. 'And let no one doubt it,' declared Fidel on the position of Bouteflika, 'that seditious Marshal is a right-winger and he is known as such by the whole world. He is a right-winger, an enemy

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of socialism and the Algerian revolution' even though, in the proclamation issued by the leaders of the coup, a revolutionary vocabulary is used, for in that proclamation no mention is made of the liberation of the peoples, for which cause Ben Bella never denied either help or solidarity.

Fidel explained that while Ben Bella had been head of the government, a group of military officers had been gradually formed around the person of Colonel Houari Boumedienne and that they had manifested their opposition to Ben Bella. Fidel described Boumedienne in the following words: 'We reserve our judgement on what he has done so that history may judge him for what he has done and for what he may yet do, but there is no doubt that he is sparing in words, and it is difficult to know what he is thinking about.' He then noted that his friends were certainly not silent and that in the face of Ben Bella's noble and generous stand, they had carried out their plans without allowing the people to resist the military blow.

The Prime Minister declared that Cuba cannot renounce the ties it had with the deposed government since that would be an act of the most repugnant political opportunism. Neither can Cuba support the coup, since given the revolutionary conditions which existed in Algeria, there is no possible justification for the way the generals proceeded. If they thought that Ben Bella should be removed they did not have to resort to treason. Why did they not raise the question with the people and the Party of the Algerian Revolution?

He condemned the violent repression of the demonstrations in support of Ben Bella. 'We, as Marxist-Leninists, can not support this barracks movement against the masses and the party,' he affirmed. 'As the news, the cables and accounts come in we can see and believe that events will increasingly demonstrate how unjustified the action was and the very painful consequences it will have for Algeria.' Continuing in his analysis of the Algerian situation Fidel pointed out that in spite of the measures taken to oppose the popularisation of the Army, the latter does not constitute a military caste and cannot serve as a weapon for repression because of its patriotic origin in the midst of a revolutionary process.

Fidel declared that Cuba views with grief the situation in Algeria and hopes that this sister country may save itself from the tremendous abyss which has opened out at her feet. If the present leaders who perpetrated this adventurous act understand the true consequences of their action, if they are courageous, capable and understand that it is not possible to go forward with the revolution without

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the people, they would have a difficult path to follow, but it would not be an impossible one.

'Our attitude will be determined by events and will be based on principles. It is our wish that they should understand the barbarity of what they have done. If they are incapable of doing this, let them have the courage to show by their deeds that they are more revolutionary than the men they have overthrown. If they decide to break relations with us they would not be the first barracks movement to do so. . . . We do not act as opportunists but as Marxist-Leninists.'

He affirmed that if facts and events show that the new leaders are anti-imperialist, revolutionary Cuba would not deny them support.

Part 2: The Algerian Students and the Coup d'Etat

B. Rayane

General Secretary, The National Union of Algerian Students in England

ON June 19, 1965, when the eyes of the world were upon Algeria, preparing to receive its guests for the second Afro-Asian Conference; at the time when thousands of young Algerians and of the youth of the world were making the final preparations for the ninth International Youth Festival; on that day, the radios of the world announced the military *coup d'état* which overthrew Ahmed Ben Bella, the President of the Algerian Republic and Secretary General of the National Liberation Front, and illegally took power in Algeria.

It is not intended to go into the details of the affair, but to give the first reflections of the Algerian students, on the basis of which they have clearly and firmly condemned the military *coup d'état* effected so unexpectedly on June 19 last. If we examine the official statement of the National Revolutionary Council, signed by Colonel Houari Boumedienne, the reactionary character of the whole text is most noticeable: all the criticisms without any foundation or concrete proof to back up the accusations, and all the reactionary jargon normally found in counter-revolutionary tracts. Without going into too much detail, the message of the statement can be summed up as follows: Algeria was heading straight for bankruptcy and the only person responsible for this catastrophe was the Secretary General of the F.L.N., Ben Bella.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Behind the facts and figures included in the National Revolutionary Council's statement of June 19 are wanton assertions which should not deceive anyone. Nevertheless, it is essential to remind those who claim to epitomise revolutionary purity (this was the claim of the perpetrators of the 'putsch') that if the President of the Republic was responsible for an incorrect policy, they are just as responsible, if not more so, for they were the principal executants of the policy they are denouncing today. As for the accusation of high treason against the President, Ben Bella, not one Algerian or friend of Algeria could believe it. Such a crime was never committed, and the 'putschists' themselves, having found no motive for it, have announced that they are doing the necessary research to find one!

The perpetrators of the *coup d'état* declare that Algeria started on a wrong course by adopting the Charter of Algiers at the Congress of the National Liberation Front in April 1964. And when they use such terms as 'taking back the country into their own hands', 'efficiency' and 'discipline', in clearer terms they mean the removal of the socialist plans being carried out by Algeria, and the installation of a military dictatorship. Look at the declarations of Mr. Cherif Belkacem, the Minister of National Education and an active participant in the *coup d'état*: he declares that the Algiers Charter is inspired by ideologies foreign to Algeria, and that it must be revised. Finally, if we remember that the Central Committee of the F.L.N. took important decisions on economic matters three days before the *coup d'état*, particularly in the field of agrarian reform; and if we remember that the Afro-Asian Conference was about to take place to reinforce the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world; then we can see that the perpetrators of the coup wished to stop the advancement of the socialist revolution before it was too late for them and for the interests they represent.

Let us look at the list of the members of the National Revolutionary Council. The overwhelming majority of this council are military officers. These are the men who have always explicitly rejected the socialist orientation of the Algiers Charter; it is they who have prevented the National Liberation Army becoming the real people's Army by destroying all that the people's militia have built up and by building up instead a classical type of army with all that is necessary to end the economic development of Algeria. These men who used armed force to take power and who are appeal-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing to the F.L.N. have scorned the Party and trampled underfoot all its principles and institutions.

With all these considerations before them, the National Union of Algerian Students (U.N.E.A.) have condemned the military coup and remain faithful to the principles of the Algiers Charter. The U.N.E.A. have demanded the liberation of the Secretary General of the F.L.N., Ahmed Ben Bella; appealed for discussion of the problems which are confronting the nation; and the return of the legal democratic institutions, the Central Committee and political bureau of the party, and the National Assembly. The Algerian students take this opportunity to launch an appeal to all the students of the world who love freedom and democracy to unite with them in their struggle against military dictatorship.

Convinced of the justice of their cause, hardened in the fight for National Liberation, the Algerian masses will be victorious once again, and re-establish the revolution on socialist lines.

Readers may care to be reminded that we have printed articles by Castro in the past, of which copies are still available:

Our United Party, February 1962;

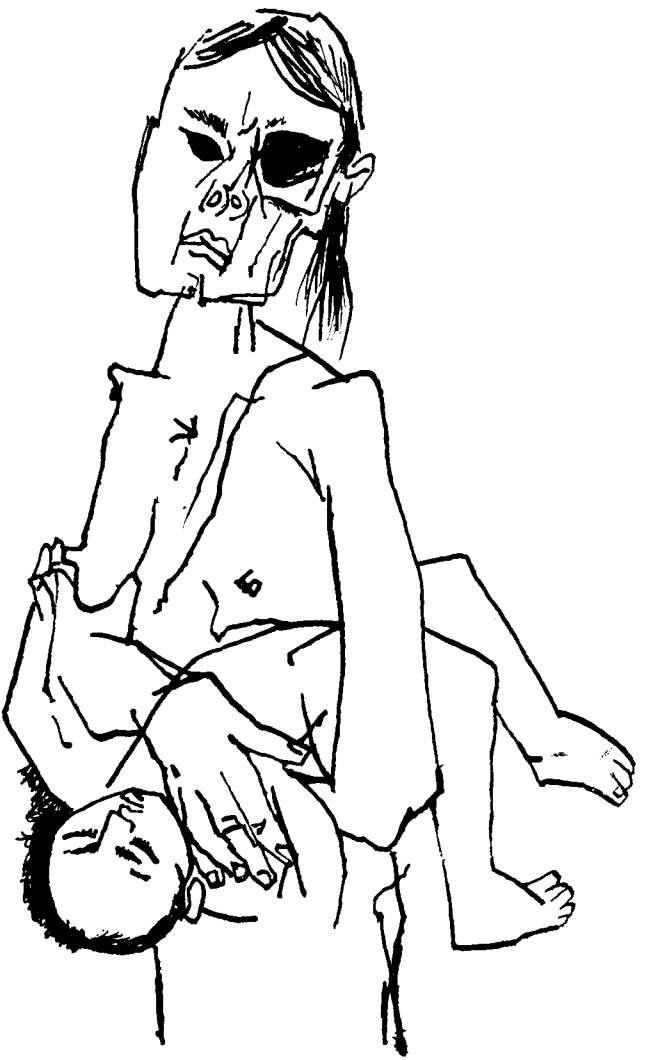
How Cuba Was Saved, July 1963;

Cuba: Five Years of Progress, March 1964.

Write to the Manager, 134, Ballards Lane, N.3, for copies.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HIROSHIMA



by Peter de Francia

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1945-1965

On August 6, 1945, the Atom Bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. 410,000 men, women and children were destroyed, agonisingly, and still today people who survived are suffering from the effects.

On August 21, 1945, just two weeks after the event, when political leaders and press pundits were proclaiming that 'the possession of the monopoly of the atomic bomb makes American-British power predominance' a fact, the Notes of the Month warned:

> It will be well to bear in mind a few cautionary considerations. . . . These declarations are made without knowledge of the stage Soviet science has reached in this field; and it has happened more than once before now that reactionary hotheads who have based their confident calculations on the supposed backwardness of Soviet science and technique have had their fingers burned. . . . The boasted 'American-British power predominance' on the basis of the atomic bomb is a myth, and the position of Britain would be closer in practice to the supposed position attributed by these theorists to the Soviet Union. . . . The actual process of production requires at present the devotion of enormous resources . . . such an outlay can only be within the reach of the largest, most highly developed industrial States. . . . On the other hand, it is precisely a small densely crowded country such as Britain, or Japan, that is most vulnerable to the atomic bomb. . . . Is it not obvious that the supposed partnership of 'American-British power predominance' would turn into the *uttermost dependence of this country on the United States?*

And today? How true this prediction. Mr. Wilson is described as 'President Johnson's poodle' as he wags approval of United States' policy in Vietnam.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROSPECTS FOR COUNCIL HOUSING

Tom Vernon*

THE Labour Government's commitment to a bigger programme for council housebuilding (within a bigger programme for all housebuilding) has been decisively affirmed by Mr. Richard Crossman, the Minister, in referring to wretched housing conditions in our big cities, accompanied by a condemnation of Tory policy as being responsible through a refusal 'to give top priority to the provision of council houses for rent' and 'the aggravation of an acute shortage of rented accommodation by the de-control inaugurated by the Rent Act'.

This lower priority is demonstrable by a comparison between council and private housebuilding in 1964 and in 1952 (when the former Labour Government's policy carried over into the earliest period of Tory Government):

	1964	1952
Councils	119,468 (36%)	165,637 (84%)
Private	210,432 (64%)	32,078 (16%)

N.B. Scotland omitted in the above and subsequent figures, because different conditions operate and privately built houses are far less in demand. In 1964, the proportionate shares were: Local Authorities and public bodies 79 per cent and Private only 21 per cent.

In the past two years councils' housebuilding has been growing, and very little less so than in the private sector (council completions in 1964 were 23 per cent higher than in 1963 and private 25 per cent). Houses currently under construction denote continued growth. At April 30 councils had 176,907 in hand and private builders 202,285. The latter figure is the highest since the war for spring-time activity and councils are getting close to their 1953 record.

Such figures indicate the compelling pressure of the people's need upon councils and private enterprise alike. The former have enlarged their programmes in face of financial difficulties that might well be daunting. The latter has grasped at an opportunity largely created by an expanding demand for homes unable to be met by rented housing, old or new.

It is notorious that the building industry has become overloaded, indicated by grave material shortages, remote delivery dates and labour scarcity. In March last, there were two job vacancies for

*Councillor Tom Vernon is President of the National Association of Tenants and Residents.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

every unemployed bricklayer, four for every carpenter or joiner and no plasterers and slaters at all to fill numerous vacancies. Building firms report it is not uncommon to be quoted a delivery delay of one year for bricks and up to one and a half years for plasterboard. Copper tubing and cement are in acute short supply. How, then, can the Government's intention to expand council housebuilding be accomplished?

The Ministry of Public Building and Works has been taking steps, *e.g.*, to encourage brickmakers to lay down more plant and to develop interest in System Building (the mainly dry assembly of prefabricated parts, use of steel frames and other new techniques). Cement manufacturers are planning some expansion, for shortages are now delaying work in housing, power stations, schools, etc., and compelling recourse to foreign cement makers (imports in 1964 were 500,000 tons) even in Bulgaria and Egypt. The Construction Industry Training Board has launched a national scheme to finance more apprentice enrolments by a levy on all but the smallest firms; apprenticeship periods are being reduced. Places at the Ministry of Labour's training centres have risen from 124 in 1963 to over 1,200. Meanwhile, labour scarcity is being tackled by speculative builders by higher wages and by employing inexperienced workers and, sometimes, unskilled men for evening and weekend work who are daytime employed in mining, agriculture and so on.

Considerable expansion by manufacturers of materials is said to be doubtful through their fears as to the future volume of demand, provoked by a recent recession in speculative building, allegedly through difficulty in getting building society and council mortgage money. How is it that they do not see expanded operations by councils as their alternative market if the private sector languishes? Don't they take Mr. Crossman seriously? Do they think greater priority for council houses could only be at the expense of private enterprise programmes and that no overall expansion of the building industry is possible?

Private enterprise in the manufacturing sector has to make its own judgement on future growth, even on demand remaining at its present height. In housebuilding, there's a long history of stop-and-go. The industry is one exceptionally sensitive to economic and market influences, for builders' investment in plant is not a large factor and, unlike much modern industry, keeping it idle is no great matter: their main 'tool', the building workers, can be liquidated at seven days' notice. Their stocks of building land will not spoil.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hence, manufacturers of materials are obliged to lag behind demand as a matter of prudence and only Government bulk orders (though not really incapable of cancellation, as with aircraft all will remember), or firm guarantees, could overcome their natural hesitation. Or Government brickworks and so on?

Uncertainties about the volume of future housebuilding are equally worrying Mr. Robert Mellish, M.P., one of the Parliamentary Under-Secretaries of the Ministry of Housing. He is reported as having complained about the lack of basic data on which to found housing programmes. The Conservative policy of *laissez faire* did not require anything of this kind: demand and building capacity were left to find their own levels, with councils taking second place in the search for land, men and materials, as prices inflated under aggressive demand. Mr. Mellish also asked: How much of the gross national product could be allocated to housing? How many houses do we want to build each year? What proportion of the construction industry should be devoted to housebuilding?

Here we reach the nub of the problem. Perhaps answers to Mr. Mellish will emerge from the forthcoming Economic Plan, but a preliminary look at what is involved is worth attempting.

The number of houses built in England and Wales in 1964 was 66,000 (or 20 per cent) greater than in 1963. The Housing Ministry's 1964 Annual Report remarks as to signs in some areas at the end of the year, that the building industry was becoming overloaded. A truism that could not go unmentioned, of course. It goes on to speak of needed steps to keep up housing productivity 'if the increased housing programme was not to fail'. The first aim we know is to reach 400,000 houses a year (a 20 per cent rise on 1964 production, itself the highest since the war) and then to move on to 450,000. Whether this is in the least realistic may well be doubted in face of the National Economic Development Council's report *The Construction Industry* (March 1964, H.M.S.O. 2s.) and of the authoritative report published last year by the Town and Country Planning Association.*

The N.E.D.C. Report points out that, with the construction industry very busy (and in parts fully stretched) the task of getting substantial expansion 'is formidable' (para. 22) and 'a challenge to the industry and to Government to ensure that the improvements (*i.e.*, in performance, manpower recruitment, new methods and changes in traditional ways) come quickly enough to enable the

**Housing in Britain.* Based on a survey commissioned by the Association, the Gas Council, the National Coal Board, three oil companies, Wates and the Cement Marketing Co.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

demand to be met' (para. 26). It is true that the then Minister of Public Building and Works (Mr. Rippon) stigmatised the report as 'unduly pessimistic' but himself was something of a facile optimist in saying 'I think the construction industries will deliver the goods provided nobody mucks them about', meaning that his Ministry's programmes being put 'on a firm long-term basis' should be regarded as firm for 'it is not our policy to undermine this'. No doubt this can be the policy for construction of all kinds in the public sector, but what of the very substantial private sectors for which no 'programme' can exist? Already we have the Ministry of Housing's end of 1964 lament that the building industry is becoming overloaded!

The T.C.P. Association's report suggests that to give every family in Britain a modern, or modernised home, a building programme of up to 500,000 new houses a year, with 200,000 old ones improved alongside, would be needed in the next twenty years. However, effective demand (and therefore the building rate) it states is likely to average only 390,000 a year for the next ten years, down to 330,000 for the following ten years and then up to A.D. 2002 back to the 390,000 level. The report forecasts that public authorities are likely to build two out of every five new dwellings in the next twenty years, and private enterprise all the rest. This gives a proportion of 40:60 as compared to 1964's 36:64 for England and Wales but is the same proportion for Britain as a whole in 1964. Accordingly, this report envisages a programme for the next ten years in England and Wales for local councils, new towns and Army, etc., houses averaging about 125,000 a year. For local councils alone the 1964 completions were close to 120,000, however, and other public authorities (including housing associations) 6,600. Hence, the report gives no encouragement whatever to Mr. Crossman's hopes and aims for progressively more council houses, yet we would say he is justified in trying at least to reach the level of council houses completed in 1952 (165,000), when private building of course was much less (*i.e.*, 32,000).

Does all this mean that the Government must attempt a cutback in private housebuilding if market forces and mortgage difficulties have not brought about a sizeable fall in the immediate and following years? This means building licences again. Is that a political possibility, even if desirable?

I incline to think not. The Government is committed, through its election programme, not to discourage 'home ownership'—quite the contrary. Aside from the well-implanted unpopularity of con-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trols and the fortissimo howls vested interests would instantly emit, the constantly increasing numbers desperately seeking homes who discover they do not qualify for a council house (or would be at the end of a long queue if they do) would add genuine voices to the protests which this Government could not ignore. In face of continuing large demand, the effect of substantially reducing the numbers of houses for sale will be to facilitate bigger prices for those that do get built. Such higher prices, with mortgages at or near 7 per cent would put thousands of would-be buyers below the required minimum income level for mortgages and force them into the council queues, savage opponents of the Government and its control.

New housebuilding from all sectors now takes up about one quarter of the entire resources of the building industry, according to the Ministry's 1964 report. There seems no likelihood of its getting a bigger share of these resources at their present scale. A considerable expansion, progressing over several years, is the evident sole solution of the problem of getting a significantly larger number of rented houses every year, whether it be available entirely to council housing or has to be shared with a buoyant houses-for-sale demand.

Over some years there have been economists asserting that the economy of Britain cannot undertake annual programmes of housebuilding up to the level of the nation's plain requirements. We can be encouraged to dismiss this gloomy opinion (apart from a critical analysis of its technical basis) by seeing what other countries have achieved. The Statistical Survey just jublished by the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe shows the average completions 1961-63 to be 5·9 per 1,000 inhabitants for Britain, but 11·7, 10·1, 10 and 9·9 respectively for the Soviet Union, Sweden, West Germany and Switzerland; and with the Netherlands and Norway also well in advance of Britain. Whether these countries give a higher priority to housebuilding than we do or not, all of them equally with ourselves are building factories, offices, hospitals, schools, roads, bridges, power stations and so on. It is probable that our houses average a larger size, but even so our national performance appears to be lower than might be afforded. Certainly the massive use of System Building in the Soviet Union, and the pioneering in such systems by other countries, is significant.

The Labour Government is undoubtedly striving to overcome councils' lethargic or nervous attitude about the new techniques and with some success. System Building is now making a far from insig-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nificant contribution which is likely to grow. But it requires more cement than traditional building—*and men to do the job.*

It is the scarcity of available labour for the sites and for the industries making building materials which really puts a brake on getting the housing production to a much higher level. Where can we find more men, whether to be trained as building craftsmen or to erect the new technique houses or to manufacture more cement, bricks and all the rest? France and other countries import the unemployed of Italy, Spain and Yugoslavia. We are apparently going to put a stop on such import from the Commonwealth countries. Where can we turn?

To me it seems clear. To the armed forces and the armament industry. Wholesale disarmament will turn soldiers into civilian producers and the workers in armaments into makers of socially useful things. Being strong 'East of Suez' is incompatible with our social programme in housing, health and education. Until that is realised, and adopted as our course ahead, to think of many thousands of new houses every year for the next quarter-century is moonshine.

CORRESPONDENCE

Liner Trains

I agree with most of Robert Bonnar's points in his article 'Goodbye, Dr. Beeching' in the July issue, but I will never be able to understand his, or the N.U.R. Executive's acceptance of the liner trains as a part of a wise transport plan in present circumstances.

I would imagine that the first priority now is to relieve the roads, particularly in towns, of both passenger and freight traffic and the only way this can be done is to build up passenger and freight train services to serve general needs.

The liner train is designed to provide a particular need and therefore will fail to make any contribution to solving the present and immediate problems facing the nation. The £100 million earmarked for liner trains should be used for further schemes of urban electrification and modernisation of freight stock both of which are urgently required and would be the basis for an expanding and developing rail service. This is surely the only safe answer to the run down of the industry and to the question of redundancy with which many railwaymen are threatened.

G. A. Wallace,
Scotland.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INTERNATIONAL LIQUIDITY

Throgmorton

THE forthcoming meeting of the International Monetary Fund will discuss proposals for the reform of international liquidity. So far, practically no left-wing voice has been heard in the public debate. Yet it should be a matter of serious concern to our labour movement.

> The topic . . . is the amount and nature of the reserves held by countries to meet occasions when they have to make payments to other countries. This might appear to be a technical question only, and one capable of being handled without too much difficulty by the financial authorities of the various countries. I believe, on the contrary, that this is a major problem, and indeed the most important problem confronting those responsible for economic affairs in the free world. It may well be that the success of free enterprise . . . as compared with totally planned economies depends more than on anything else on their success in dealing with this problem.
>
> (Sir R. Harrod, *Reforming the World's Money*, 1965.)

The purpose of this short survey is not to examine the deeper issues of the present stage of capitalist contradictions expressed in this problem, but to explain in simple terms what the present controversy, which will be discussed in the International Monetary Fund meeting, is about.

Every country needs to keep a reserve or stock of moneys other than its own from which payments to other countries can be made. The chief currencies are U.S. dollars and pounds sterling; these are accordingly known as 'reserve currencies'. They may either be kept in bank accounts or invested in Treasury Bills; the latter are interest-earning securities which are called 'liquid' because they can speedily be sold if ready money should be urgently required. Gold is another item kept in countries' reserves; it earns no interest. Those countries which are paid-up members of the International Monetary Fund are able to borrow from the I.M.F. in case of need; and this source of credit is yet another kind of reserve. The total of every country's reserves of foreign currencies (whether deposited in banks or invested in bills), gold, and I.M.F. borrowing rights is called 'world liquidity'.

The world in this context means only those 102 countries which are members of the I.M.F.; the socialist countries (except Yugoslavia) are thus left out of account.

According to the latest figures, world liquidity amounts to about 69 billion dollars' worth, comprising 41 billion dollars' worth of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gold, 4 billion of I.M.F. reserves and 24 billion of currencies. The 24 billion currencies probably consist of about 10 billion dollars, 9 billion dollars' worth of sterling, and 5 billion dollars' worth of other currencies, mostly West German marks.*

The following table shows the distribution of reserves as they stood at the end of last year; figures in brackets show how they had stood five years previously (all in billion U.S. dollars):

	Gold	*Currencies*	*I.M.F. Reserves*	*Total*
U.S.A. and U.K.	17·6 (22·0)	0·6 (0·2)	0·8 (2·0)	19·0 (24·3)
Other industrial countries	18·2 (11·7)	12·4 (7·1)	2·7 (1·0)	33·3 (19·7)
Other developed countries	2·3 (1·3)	4·1 (2·6)	0·3 (0·1)	6·7 (4·1)
Under-developed countries	2·8 (2·9)	6·9 (6·5)	0·3 (0·1)	9·9 (9·5)
World total	40·9 (37·9)	23·9 (16·3)	4·2 (3·3)	68·9 (57·5)

(*International Financial Statistics,* published by I.M.F.)

The figures on the right show that the total reserves of the two currency countries (or, as de Gaulle calls us, the Anglo-Saxon countries) have dwindled by 5·3 billion dollars in five years, from 24·3 to 19 billions. Unfortunately this loss has not been matched by a corresponding gain for the under-developed countries; their reserves have hardly risen at all from 9·5 to 9·9 billions. The money has mostly gone to the other industrial countries, whose reserves have risen dramatically from 19·7 to 33·3 billions. Chief gainers have been the Common Market countries.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above analysis: (1) While, five years ago, the two reserve currency countries had more reserves than the Common Market countries, the opposite is now the case; (2) The reserves held by the under-developed countries are low, stagnant, and form a falling proportion of the world total.

We are therefore witnessing a shift in the balance of economic power among the capitalist nations, while the claims of the under-developed countries become yet more urgent.

Some finer points emerge from the details of the table. The 'other industrial countries' have increased their currency holdings from 7·1 to 12·4 billion, *i.e.*, by 5·3 billion, which is precisely the amount by which the U.S.A. and the U.K. total reserves have fallen. This means that these two countries have had balance-of-payments de-

*These items do not include assets in the possession of private individuals or banks; they are strictly *official* reserves, held by treasuries and central banks such as the Bank of England.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ficits over the period, $5·3 billion of which have been financed by the other industrial countries, which have increased their holdings of dollars and sterling by that amount.

It should be borne in mind that such currency holdings constitute a loan to the two countries concerned, since they represent money which has been earned by exports, etc., but not yet spent. In the post-war years, when world industrial production was so far damaged, and world commerce so disrupted, that dollars and pounds were the only currencies that could be relied upon to buy anything with, the rest of the world was only too glad to receive the dollars and pounds which were available; but that is no longer the case, and there is a limit to the quantity of these currencies which other countries wish to hold. It is no longer regarded as satisfactory that the annual additions to world liquidity should arise in an unplanned way from involuntary balance-of-payments deficits by two privileged countries. Nor would it be satisfactory if world liquidity should stagnate as a result of the ending of these deficits. In fact, that is why the present system is breaking down.

Attention has been drawn to the causes of the U.K. and U.S. deficits. In the U.K., the special causes of the deficit of 1964 are well known to *Labour Monthly* readers to be in respect of the crippling overseas expenditure as well as heavy export of capital by the monopolies. In the U.S., the deficit of recent years has been caused by (*a*) vast world-wide military operations, and (*b*) direct investment—which means the taking over of industrial concerns and other property, mainly in Western Europe. It is obvious to France and other countries which are not U.S. puppets that they should not be expected to help finance any of these activities—unless of course an attractive rate of interest is paid.

The interest on these sterling and dollar holdings is, on the contrary, very low. When they are invested in Treasury Bills they earn 3 or 4 per cent, but if they are simply placed in bank deposits on current account they earn no interest. A certain amount must be held in current accounts for day-to-day transactions; and in the case of under-developed countries, almost all of their meagre currency holdings are probably required for current account operations. The average rate of interest is therefore probably under 3 per cent. By contrast, the yield on direct investments is very high. For U.S. investment in Europe it has been variously estimated at between 13 and 18 per cent. It therefore seems safe to argue that the U.S. direct investment abroad is at least 10 per cent more profitable than the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dollar holdings of central banks. This figure of 10 per cent permits a rough estimate to be made of the advantage derived by the U.S. and the U.K. from other countries' willingness to hold more of their currencies; over the last five years alone it works out at $11·8 billion, equal to £4,200 million.

Thus the whole arrangement has been operationally biased in favour of the world's wealthiest countries.

So long as businessmen have complete confidence in sterling and the dollar, the reserve currency system can pursue its inequitable course. But if they lose confidence, say, in sterling, there are over 3 billion pounds looking for buyers. Sterling is 'in an exposed position', suited perhaps to the heyday of our commercial supremacy, but an embarrassment today. Specifically, we cannot devalue or impose exchange controls as we might wish to satisfy the inner requirements of the economy (*e.g.*, maintaining full employment) without causing trouble for the sterling area countries and for the City of London.

It is a commonplace that the benefits of imperialism have now been outweighed by the increasing costs of maintaining Britain's imperial power. Put in monetary terms, the invisible earnings of the City are not large enough to justify the increasing curtailment of the freedom of action in the field of public economic policy. This was convincingly shown, for instance, by Shonfield's book, *British Economic Policy since the War*. There is thus every reason for British socialists and liberals alike to press for the ending of the Sterling Area and of monetary arrangements involving the use of national currencies for international purposes. In this light the recent statement of Chancellor Callaghan in New York, that the present status of the dollar and the pound must be upheld, is deplorable. By comparison the official French views could be regarded as more progressive than the Callaghan-L.B.J. line.

What is urgently necessary is that socialist economists should get down to the work of developing their independent policy on these questions. Such a policy would require in the case of Britain decisive changes in the Government's home, foreign and military programmes to correct the deficit in the balance of payments. At the same time it would require new relations to be established with the newly independent and under-developed countries so as to end the increasing imbalance expressed in the deterioration of the terms of trade. For the wider international issues involved any adequate international discussions should include the socialist countries.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREEDOM FOR SOUTH ARABIA

C. Enisah

THE Labour Government's attempts to solve the problems confronting it in Aden have once again run into heavy weather. Its latest set-back is that its pliant creation, the South Arabian Federal Supreme Council, has now postponed indefinitely the conference it had called for June 27 to discuss the formation of a 'Unitary Sovereign Democratic Independent State for South Arabia'. No one would attend, all the invitations were turned down and understandably so.

The Labour Government's 'East of Suez' policy is proving an extremely costly one: not only in terms of something like £75 million per annum, in foreign exchange alone, in keeping a string of bases in the Mediterranean and the Middle East; not only in the provision of 40,000 troops to maintain these bases; and not only in its efforts to bolster up Malaysia; but also in the consequences of this policy, which of necessity compels the Government to support the Americans in their dirty war of aggression in South Vietnam.

'East of Suez' demands the retention of the base at Aden as a most vital 'link in the chain of British military communications to the Far East where we have pressing commitments to defend Malaysia' (*Financial Times* Diplomatic Correspondent, January 26, 1965). The Vietnam *quid pro quo,* American support for Britain's adventures in Malaysia, is also bound up with the retention of the Aden base and its outpost in Bahrain. Only 35 per cent of the Middle East oil is British, while 53 per cent is American. The American oil companies rather enjoy the protection afforded thereby.

Its own suicidal policy having decided for the Government that it was going to keep the Aden base and make it effective come what may, it only remained for the Government to try to devise the methods and means—if it could. For many years past right-wing Labour's standard seems to have been taken from a popular musical show 'Anything you can do we can do better, we can make Tory policies work better than you'. Hence, having inherited Aden from the Tories the Labour Government decided to put the dictum into operation: Tory policy was continued, perhaps with a little more subtlety, but certainly with no more success.

What now for Aden and the South Arabian Federation? Before discussing the reasons for the latest debacle it would perhaps be as well to get Aden in its proper perspective, and briefly review the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

past. In January 1963 the Aden Colony was forcibly merged by the Tories into a Federal State with a hotch-potch of Sheikhdoms and Sultanates, the South Arabian Federation. Ever since, all parties and all shades of opinions within Aden, including the Aden State Council, have shown intense opposition to the federal constitution. So much so that Mr. Duncan Sandys, the then Colonial Secretary, decided to convene a conference which was to discuss a new constitution, and supposedly to fix a date for independence.

Suspicion of and opposition to the Tory plans for constitutional changes continued. On succeeding Mr. Sandys as Colonial Secretary, Mr. Anthony Greenwood's own master-stroke was to seek to turn the Federation into a Unitary State. However, a rose by any other name still smelled the same and had just as many prickly thorns, not least of which was that the promise of independence by 1968 was still linked to the retention of the military base at Aden, and that the Adenis, with their advanced political and trade union organisations, would still be shackled to the backward and subservient Sheikhdoms of the Federation. Realising this, the Aden State Government resigned. Its Chief Minister, Mr. Baharoon, in his letter of resignation made it quite clear why: his Government had 'hoped for a Conference which all the governments, political parties and organisations concerned would attend as full participants, to realise as early as possible, unity, democracy and freedom for South Arabia. . . . We now fear that recent developments which prevented the holding of such a conference will continue to fetter Aden with a constitution which no one supports'. The London Conference was abandoned and almost immediately the carrot was replaced by the stick: a state of emergency was declared by the new (broom) High Commissioner, Sir Richard Turnbull.

In the meantime the Arab League Committee on South Arabia met in Cairo to discuss the proposals put forward by the various organisations in Aden and South Arabia for co-ordinating their liberation efforts. While they differed over the methods to be used, they had the same goal—independence for Aden, and the resolution adopted with only one dissentient, proposed political means of handling the problems of Aden and the Protectorate, as well as armed means.

In mid-April Mr. Abdul Qawee Mackawee, who had replaced Mr. Baharoon as Chief Minister, and had earlier repealed the infamous Industrial Relations Ordinance of 1960, which in effect made all strikes illegal, made it clear that a new phase had been reached in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Aden's liberation struggle. He called on Britain to implement the 1963 United Nations resolution for a political settlement of the problems of South Arabia. As *The Times* (April 20) said 'This is a move which no previous Aden Government, and not even the South Arabian Federal Government has ever dared to make'. In the most pointed policy statement ever made in the Aden Legislative Council he said, 'My Ministers and I refuse, and shall always refuse, any kind or form of false or falsified independence. We are fully determined to make a firm stand in the face of any attempt to ignore the true aims of the people, or any endeavour to dictate terms for an independence of the kind to which I had referred. On this stand . . . we are in full agreement with major political organisations of the country'. A week later the Council unanimously passed a motion requesting the High Commissioner to secure immediate implementation of public demands for the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all detainees, return of exiles and full restoration of public freedom.

Having no support in the Aden Council, Mr. Greenwood turned his attentions to the Federal Government. Its Defence Minister was made to bring back to life the idea of seeking outside help—the tame commission originally proposed by Mr. Greenwood—and Sir Evelyn Hone was appointed to lead it. After reaffirming his Government's policy for the creation of a Unitary State for South Arabia, he added 'What is required is to seek with such outside help as may be appropriate, a way . . . of formulating a constitution?' However, after demanding Aden's freedom from the 'chains of colonialism without any further delay', he indicated that to lift the state of emergency from Aden would be an act of irresponsibility 'which the Government is not prepared to do'.

At the same meeting of the Federal Council the Aden representatives put forward the opposing motion calling for the execution of the United Nations resolutions. Several Federal Councillors joined in with this Adeni demand and were summarily dismissed by their Sheikhly rulers, following which the 20 Aden State members walked out of the Council and boycotted the rest of the session. The Council then 'unanimously' approved the Federal Government's Policy Statement without any debate. In Aden the emergency regulations were strengthened and further extended, and the Aden Ministers expressed great concern at the High Commissioner's action which 'we feel is a retrograde step intended to undermine the present Government and perhaps compel it to resign'.

The Federal Government continued with their unitary state efforts

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and fixed the date, June 27, for a conference to discuss this and a new constitution. Immediately Mr. Mackawee, who had already indicated that both the conference and the commission would be boycotted by the Aden Government and political parties, sent his Minister for Constitutional Affairs to London to seek support from the Commonwealth heads of state and to persuade them not to take part in the commission. A memorandum was also sent to Mr. Healey, the Minister of Defence, who was at the time in South Arabia (inspecting the Bahrain garrison!) informing him that the commission was at complete variance with the aspirations of the Aden Government and people. Mr. Mackawee himself flew to the Eastern Aden Protectorates and persuaded the States of Quaiti, Kathivi and Mahrah to join with the Aden Government and political parties in refusing invitations to the Conference. As a result of which, but five days after declaring it was on, the South Arabian Federation Supreme Council decided to postpone the conference indefinitely. From which two things stand out clearly: firstly the unanimity that exists between all the organisations in Aden, for with the exception of the National Front for Liberation they are united together in the Organisation for the Liberation of the Occupied South; and secondly, their common policy, reiterated time and time again these last few months, and not least by the Aden Government, which demands that Britain implement the 1963 United Nations resolutions: early removal of the British base in Aden and freedom for the South Arabian people to exercise their right of self determination. This is a policy which in our own interests demands the support of the whole of the labour movement. The Hone commission should be quietly laid to rest and Mr. Wilson, who has more than once in the past affirmed that no base is of use if held without the agreement of the Government of the country in question, should now recognise or be made to recognise the wisdom of his earlier remarks and act accordingly.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence:

KARL MARX AND THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN'S review article in your June number raises issues wider than the merits and de-merits of the book in question. He joins issue with us on three points—Marx's treatment of trade unions in the *Inaugural Address,* our conclusion that the International in England ceased to expand in 1867 and our view that the creative period in Marx's life was over by 1872.

The *Inaugural Address,* which Marx wrote for the General Council of the International in October, 1864, contains an account of the decline, stagnation (if Rothstein will forgive the word) and embryonic recovery of the European working class movement following the defeat of the 1848 revolutions. Marx was at pains to point out that this mainly negative period was 'not without its compensating features'. Of these he found two of particular significance—the Ten Hours' Act of 1847 and the growth of the Co-operative movement. Trade unions, as such, were nowhere mentioned. Marx does refer, as Andrew Rothstein points out, to 'combination' in a sentence which reads 'One element of success they (the workers) possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, united by combination and led by knowledge'. This hardly constitutes a treatment of trade unions on a par with the 'two great facts'—Co-operation and the Ten Hours' Act—to which Marx did give very considerable attention.

To say this is not to make the curious suggestion that Marx was not aware of trade unions. He had discussed their significance in the *Communist Manifesto* and was to return to the theme at much greater length in the *Instructions* which he wrote in preparation for the Geneva Congress in 1866. Our argument is the rather different one that the development of the New Model unions of the 1850s and early 1860s was, for England, *the decisive* development which was to determine the future of the movement both economically and politically, and that Marx for the most part under-estimated its significance. To say this is not to disparage Marx, unless one views him as a demi-god. It is a criticism based on a hundred years of historical experience which was not available to Marx in the 1860s.

That the International was stagnant after 1867 is not open to serious doubt by anyone who has examined the original materials. The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, which affiliated at the end of the year, was the last trade union of any size to do so. Applegarth's subsequent participation on the General Council and at the Basle Congress was, unfortunately, unique. The T.U.C., in 1869, called on trade unions to affiliate but its advice was not taken. The Manchester and Birmingham Trades Councils affiliated in 1870 but, as all the extant *Minutes* show, these remained purely paper affiliations without active participation or even financial contributions. It is hard to see the point of Rothstein's objection. Presumably he concedes that the International in England *did* stagnate and then decline for

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some time before Marx decided to move the General Council from London in 1872. We show, we think beyond reasonable doubt, that this decline had set in well before the Paris Commune of 1871. If Rothstein does not believe that the turning point came at the end of 1867 when does he think it came? And why?

Finally, we argued (not without evidence) that Marx's creative period came to an end in 1871. Such terms are, of course, relative. Marx, in his declining years, could turn out work of a quality surpassing the achievements of most men in a lifetime. Our use of the word 'creative' was, therefore, deliberate. The posthumously published volumes of *Capital,* including the *Theories of Surplus Value,* contain nothing of consequence added by Marx after 1867. He accumulated, as Rothstein says, a great deal of material which he did not use and which remains largely unpublished up to the present day. Compared with his earlier work (published and otherwise) since 1844 the last twelve years of his life were spent largely in revision and accumulation rather than creation or development. To say this, taking into account all Marx's achievements and the circumstances of his life, is hardly to disparage him.

Perhaps Rothstein is right in saying that the differences between us are more political than historical. Was Marx never mistaken? Did the International never stagnate? Was every stage in Marx's life equally creative? It would be a perverse historian who would answer 'yes' to all these questions. Yet Rothstein comes very close to doing so.

Henry Collins.
Chimen Abramsky.

REPLY:

COLLINS and Abramsky say in their book that Marx assigned to trade unions a rôle 'subordinate' to the political aims (in future) of the working class—a rôle which the English unions never accepted, remaining a 'dominant and formative influence' instead. This was the reason, they repeated, why Marx 'underestimated' the significance of the new craft unions of his day, and even 'completely ignored trade unions' in the *Inaugural Address* of the International.

I pointed out, on the contrary, that Marx said the one element of success which the workers possessed was 'combination', which meant trade unions (this Collins and Abramsky now admit), and that he had followed this up by speaking of 'working men's societies' and 'associations' eleven times in the rules (which Collins and Abramsky continue to ignore). And since these facts do not square at all with their premises, it is indeed a case of 'wider issues'.

Marx was not only a theoretician and historian, he was a practical revolutionary. The task of the moment was to bring together, for the first time and on as broad a basis as possible, the disunited worker's movement of many countries, in face of the triumphant international development of capitalism. Above all, he wanted to draw together the 'real power'—the best-organised movement of Britain and France. He wanted this because he saw that the fight for the simplest immediate needs of the workers would teach them that a more far-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reaching struggle was essential—it would take time, he wrote to Engels, 'before the reawakened movement allows the old boldness of speech'.

When, therefore, he wrote of trade unions in 'a form acceptable to the present standpoint of the workers' movement' (the same letter to Engels of November 4, 1864), he did so because he was addressing, not primarily the British workers (as Collins and Abramsky wrongly assert in their book), but also those of other countries where, although the prestige of the British unions was high, different and less developed forms of organisation still existed. But all of them, not excluding the British, were under the dominant influence of bourgeois Liberalism in one shape or another, according to national circumstances. In all countries there lay ahead a bitter struggle *within* the unions between bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence (Liberal, Proudhonist, Anarchist) and Socialism—and this in reality was the main 'formative influence' in the labour movement everywhere. This particular conflict was still raging, if the truth must be told, in the British trade unions in the nineties, long after it had been settled in many other countries. Yet even in Britain, contrary to what the authors now imply, the issue was settled too, in 1900, by the formation of the Labour Party—for all its non-Socialist language and practices, the *first* step of British organised labour towards a Socialist working class party (which did not of course prevent the struggle breaking out afresh, on a new basis, again and again in after years).

Marx could not foresee how this would develop concretely in each case. His business was to do what he could to promote it, both at the formation of the International and in its eight years' existence. And this he did, without either underestimating the craft unions or overestimating the speed at which the British workers would realise the need for wider political aims.

Collins and Abramsky persist in their assertion that the International in England was 'stagnant' after 1867—but avoid saying, just as in their book, that their criterion of stagnation is a purely formal one (although the examples they bring leave little doubt about it). Whether the Carpenters and Joiners were the last union 'of any size' to affiliate is not the point: a number of smaller unions did so, and by the end of 1870 the prestige of the International in this field (not excluding the Engineers) stood very high, as the authors describe in their book (pp. 171-3). Applegarth was not unique: Shaw (Housepainters), Cohn (Cigar Makers), Lucraft and others accompanied him at the Brussels Congress (1868) and Lucraft at Basel (1869). Obviously the authors have entirely overlooked the fact that the TUC in those years comprised not only unions but also trade councils: Manchester and Salford, with 10,000 affiliated in 1867, and Birmingham were important among these (Manchester convened the first TUC in 1868, while the second was at Birmingham). The affiliation of these two trade councils in 1870 showed that the advice of the 1869 Congress *was* taken—and the great campaign after September 1870 for recognition of the French Republic showed that, there as elsewhere, this was *not* a 'paper affiliation'.

For 'stagnation' cannot be judged by affiliations even today, much less in regard to the years 1868-1872, when co-operation in workers' struggles was the real test, not financial contributions. One or two examples were given in my review. There are

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

others. The International campaigned successfully for support among many British unions on behalf of striking Geneva builders in 1868, Basel ribbonworkers and Belgian miners in 1869, Paris iron moulders in 1870, Belgian cigar makers in 1871. Was that 'stagnation'? On the General Council's initiative—implementing the decision of the Basel Congress—the Land and Labour League was founded in 1869, with well-known members of the General Council in its leadership, and as principal speakers at its great unemployed demonstration in Trafalgar Square in 1870 and its numerous meetings all over the country, later that year and early in 1871, in defence of the new French Republic. Was that 'stagnation'? There was the enthusiastic working class and democratic response to the International's two manifestos on the Franco-Prussian war (July 26 and September 8, 1870), despite the boycott by most capitalist newspapers. Was *that* 'stagnation'?

It was not—for those who understand that the International was more than a head office, and not an early version of Transport House, but a *movement,* 'a moral force', as Marx put it at the Hague Congress in 1872. And the decision to move the General Council from London was not due to any previous 'decline', but to the International campaign against the I.W.M.A. by the joint efforts of the police, the press, the Bakuninists and sundry political adventurers (particularly in Britain, this) which broke out after the defeat of the Paris Commune, and which made work in London impossible.

Collins and Abramsky cavalierly dismiss all the evidence in the review of Marx's immense creative work after 1872 (and extraordinarily extensive work on volumes II and III of *Capital* which ill-health prevented him from using)—on the French edition of *Capital,* volume I, and on *Anti-Dühring,* on the letter to the Narodniks and on the programme of the French Workers' Party etc.—all published, like much else of the same period. They boldly reveal that their original assertion about his creative period having ended after the Commune was 'deliberate'—evidently on the principle used by the Captain to his crew in Lewis Carroll's *Hunting of the Snark:* 'What I tell you three times is true'. But that is not enough—nor is it enough to provide a sudden smokescreen like the observation, which the reader will not find in their book, about the high quality of Marx's work during the years in question.

As to their remarks about viewing Marx 'as a demigod', thinking he was 'never mistaken' and the like, this is only the long-familiar backchat of anti-Marxists in discussion with their opponents, with an eye to present-day issues. It is regrettable to find the authors resorting to it—since it implies that the differences between us are, after all, both historical *and* political.

Andrew Rothstein

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

How Labour Governs, V. Gordon Childe, Melbourne University Press. 194 pp. 35s.
The Cause is Mankind, Hubert H. Humphrey, Methuen. 172 pp. 25s.
The Inside Story of Communist China, Valentine Chu, Allen & Unwin. 320 pp. 30s.
Atlas of European Affairs, Pounds & Kingsbury, Methuen. 136pp. 15s.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK REVIEWS

The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx

John Lewis

Lawrence & Wishart. 286 pp. 37s. 6d.

THIS BOOK presents a paradox. It is in effect a textbook. Its language is calm, descriptive and non-controversial, yet when you lay it down you are aware that it has exposed the hollowness of the pretentious nonsense presented to us today as social science by the intelligentsia who seek to re-define the objectives of our Movement.

I picked it up for review with a degree of reluctance. The 'Life' and 'Teaching' in 270 pages? I expected the trivia of sterile scholastic erudition or a pot boiler to cash in on the present growing interest in Marxism. St. Paul's conversion on the Damascus Road was not more instanter! From the first page the words flow with a free lilt that is no mean feat on any subject—and little short of fantastic in a book that deals with such complex subjects as Philosophy, Economics, Sociology and History.

With an impressive logical sequence, John Lewis surveys the growth and development of Marx's ideas—not with an arid remote ivory tower approach, but always close to the conception, so basic to living Marxism, that *practice* is primary, yet not underestimating that at particular moments in history the strengthening of theory can become a primary necessity before the next historic step forward can become *practically* possible. On page one John Lewis states: 'First and foremost, then, it must be understood that Marx himself . . . was never a speculative theorist interested in ideas for their own sake or a philosopher producing a theoretical system designed to explain the whole course of human history'. Quoting Marx that 'Philosophers have only sought to interpret the world in various ways; the real point is to *change* it', John Lewis points out 'Marx clearly distinguishes the real acting forces from the artificial if ingenious reflections in metaphysics. Rational through and through, his aim is not to discover truth by arguments drawn from pure reasoning, but by the objective study of things'. Unlike those (and they are a multitude) who, under the banner of an explanation or development of Marxism, have sought to give a progressive cloak to outworn reactionary concepts, John Lewis carries this consistent materialist approach right through to the end of the book. He defines the function of Marxism as 'To give to the masses otherwise liable to apathy or despair, an understanding that will awaken them to clear consciousness of their situation, of their historical mission and will lead them to create a class organisation which will lift the individual out of his solitude into a fighting community'.

This book is *comprehensive:* not as a dictionary or an encyclopaedia is comprehensive, but in that the selection of quotations is so apt and the linking narrative so cogent that as you read you get a vivid impression of the whole range and depth of Marx's thought. The book is a refresher course for any active Marxist. From another angle, it should be compulsory reading for all Labour Party supporters who have never read Marx, but have been convinced by self-proclaimed advanced intellectuals that Marx is 'out of date'. Any who do read it will find it difficult to find another economist who has made so many correct predictions as to the course of develop-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment of capitalism—and if they read with care will have a better grasp of the social consequences of automation than they will get from the works of any non-Marxist economist or sociologist writing today. You can almost open the book at random and find a sentence or paragraph that illuminates some contemporary problem. What better description of the effect of automation than 'All our invention and progress seems to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life and in stultifying human life into a material force'? Or what clearer explanation of the political inertia of the British working class than 'participation in the domination of the world market was and is the basis of the political nullity of the English workers. They will be shaken up only by the loss of this industrial monopoly'? That 'only' is now well over the horizon!

Interwoven with the 'Teaching' is the 'Life'. This is so deftly carried out that it enhances rather than breaks the continuity of the thought. You are made to appreciate that here was a man, living, loving, struggling, suffering, participating, sacrificing everything except his integrity to achieve the objective he had set himself—to help to 'overthrow all conditions in which man is a humiliated, enslaved, despised and rejected being'.

I have written so far for active participants in the working-class movement, but it should be made equally clear that this is a profoundly scholarly work. The author has not only read widely, but also digested thoroughly. This book will serve all students who are interested in the thought processes of men in society. There are fascinating paragraphs on the source and development of abstract ideas, on the problems of how thought forms rise, seem to take on a life of their own, become a barrier to further progress, then have to be overthrown. The practical commitment of the author in no way diminishes the depths of his thinking. On the contrary it supplies the essential link between the 'scholars' and the pragmatic 'activists' that our movement needs.

I unreservedly recommend this book to all who seek to advance the cause of Socialism, whether young men at the beginning of their political lives, or those like myself for whom the reaper draws too close—and if any think this is an uncritical exaggerated review, read the book. You will change your mind. I did—very quickly!

J. R. SHANLEY.

The Worker and the Law

Professor K. W. Wedderburn

Penguin Books. 368 pp. 7s. 6d.

THIS IS a most comprehensive and stimulating book on the subject of the law relating to employment, collective bargaining, trade unions *vis-a-vis* society in general and their members, safety and other work legislation, and every aspect of the relationship between a worker and his union on the one hand and employers and the State on the other. Not only is it a full and accurate and simply-written account of the law as it is but Professor Wedderburn raises, and chases with gusto, a number of lively hares. One such is the legal position of the collective agreement. Is it a legally binding contract enforceable against every individual employer and unionist who was a member of the employers' association and the union which entered into it, and if not, should it be? Is there a case for having a Labour Law guaranteeing the right

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to union membership, the right of unions to negotiate and the right to enforce agreements so arrived at but with the *quid pro quo* that agreements so arrived at, including compulsory arbitration and no-strike clauses, should be legally enforceable on every individual member? Those who demand the former should remember that, as a matter of practical politics, they will not get the one without the other. The movement has never got anything but kicks from the Courts; *Rookes v. Barnard* is the latest in a long line of judicial attacks. As Churchill said in 1911: 'It is not good for trade unions that they should be brought in contact with the courts, and it is not good for the courts'. Look to your organisation and steer clear of lawyers is still the best watchword. But the law cannot be ignored—it certainly does not ignore us!—and there is no better guide possible than Professor Wedderburn.

An excellent book: buy it.

O. H. PARSONS.

Essays in the Economics of Socialism and Capitalism

Edited R. L. Smyth

Duckworth, 1964, 352 pp. 50*s*.

FOR THOSE who are interested in the development of economic ideologies, this will be a book of some interest. It collects together a selection of addresses—the earliest in 1886 and the latest in 1932—made to the British Association on economic topics. Well-known figures have been chosen such as Sidgwick, G.B.S., Webb, Marshall, Schumpeter, Keynes and Beveridge; and the nature of the audience and the speakers gives this collection the character of an anthology of economic theorising. Sidgwick's case for *laissez faire* (1886), with its carefully defined and very narrowly restricted field into which public authority is allowed to interfere, struck me as quite remarkable; here are all the arguments to which capitalism again and again returns in defence of profit, exploitation and private wealth. However, as a whole the volume leaves one with the feeling that the British Association—of which the full and proper title is the British Association for the Advancement of Science—has in its economic section done mighty little to advance science in that most important of all fields, namely, the shaping of social and economic means for using advances in scientific knowledge to free mankind from the bonds of poverty.

J. EATON.

A Short History of the Labour Party

Henry Pelling

Macmillan 142 pp. 21s.

THIS IS THE SECOND EDITION (and fifth impression) of one of the better-known works in the proliferating Pelling corpus, first published in 1961. As usual, Mr. Pelling is a concise cicerone for an academic tour of Labour history; but, as usual, he is a narrator and no analyst. Presentation in depth is foreign to his nature.

It is quite extraordinary, in the opening pages, to observe the straits to which he is reduced because he can't, or won't, proceed from the commonly accepted facts of British economic and social crisis in the '80s and '90s and therefore cannot seriously explain why independent Labour action and organisation date from that period.

In previous reviews of Mr. Pelling's writings in these columns I have remarked that, for all his apparatus of scholarship—and his bibliographical indications are usually useful, though highly selective—he

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has moments when he is not nearly as scholarly as one might expect an Oxford product of the G. D. H. Cole school to be.

No serious historian of the period would be content to label the sectarian S.D.F. 'a Marxist group', 'dogmatically Marxist' without some indication of the odd quality of S.D.F. 'Marxism'. Equally, it is surprising that Mr. Pelling appears unaware of the real significance of the early withdrawal of the S.D.F. from the infant Labour Party.

His sometimes cavalier attitude to secondary facts emerges, for instance, in his remark that the *Daily Herald* survived the outbreak of war in 1914 while the *Daily Citizen* died 'immediately'. In fact the *Herald* became a weekly directly the first world war broke out, not resuming daily publication until 1919, while the *Citizen* did not close until June 1915.

Mr. Pelling's kid-glove handling of MacDonald is a marked feature of this, as of other books of his. It is, one feels, no accident, and contrasts starkly with the savaging of MacDonald by Pelling's master Cole in the classic *Short History* (1931 edition). He invites us to concede MacDonald's 'honesty of purpose' (like those who present Himmler as a good husband and father).

This new edition brings the narrative up to the election of 1964 and the Premiership of Harold Wilson. It concludes with the cynical, and not insignificant sentences: 'Harold Wilson, like Attlee, before becoming leader made a great point of loyalty to the decisions of the party conference. Now that he has become Prime Minister, he should find it even easier than Attlee did to ensure that on all the important questions decided under his leadership, conference is loyal to him rather than the other way about'.

So, modern British Social Democracy leads up to the cult of the individual. What a prospect!

ALLEN HUTT.

The First Hundred Days of Harold Wilson

Anthony Shrimsley

Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 162 pp. 30s.

THIS LIVELY and competent account by a well-informed journalist of the formation and the first hundred days of the operation of the present Labour Government is first-class journalism rather than a book.

As good journalism, it gives a great deal of space—to my mind perhaps too much—to the personal touches about what people wear and eat, and what office accommodation they get. Also, as good journalism, it gives the impression that the writer or his many 'sources' have been present at all the private meetings, in all Continents, of Wilson and his Ministers, including those of the Cabinet, and present, too, at their decisions and even their thinking. But there is real 'meat' in it.

The book has only one real defect, which it shares with too many books today: it contains no indication that anyone in this country wants a Socialist state, still less that a Labour Government ought to be trying to found one; everything is on an 'establishmental' surface.

But the book does give an interesting 'C. P. Snowish' picture of the practical working of that splendid barrier to progress, the Whitehall machine.

D. N. PRITT, Q.C.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LOCAL ASSET

We are constantly both touched and encouraged by the thought and energy shown by so many of our readers in ensuring that *L.M.* reaches out and extends its influence all the time. A London reader has taken vigorous action to get *L.M.* in the reading room—and our Bound Volumes on the shelves—of his local and borough libraries. 'A couple of years ago', he tells us, 'I noticed our local reading room didn't show *L.M.* I wrote to the Chief Librarian, telling him some of the merits of the magazine, and as a result it has been there ever since. *L.M.* supporters up and down the country could really make an impact on this issue—think what an asset *L.M.* would be in every library! I now make a practice of asking for Bound Volumes, particularly the recent ones. A big enough demand will force the libraries to buy them in larger quantities. I told the librarian I wasn't the only one who wanted to swot up modern history from a Marxist standpoint!'

Many libraries all over the world have had subscriptions from us for several years—there is no doubt at all that others would respond to local requests for the inclusion of our journal amongst the other periodicals. It is significant that once library subscriptions are started they always continue—proof, if any were needed, that *L.M.* earns its keep in every locality.

Helen Falber.

£50 16s. 11d.

REGULAR DONATIONS came from: 'West Brompton', £10; H. Brindle, 5s; S. Morrissy, 10s; Southend Branch, 12s 6d; L. Bates, 5s; Oldham Branch, 2s; Blackburn Branch, 6s; D. J. Perry, 2s 6d; R. McLeod, 10s; B. W. Mackay, 2s 6d; D. H. Strathern and Friends, 10s; R.F.B., £3; A. Corbett, £1; F.G.A. (Canada), £1; 'Stockport Santa', 10s; E. Sheldon, 10s; L'Humanité, 5s; Nellie Usher, 2s 6d; 'In Memory of Joe Brien', 3s; 'S. Mill', £1; G.I., 2s; J. Tarver, 5s; L. Perkins, 2s 6d; 'Oliver Twist and Friends', 15s; 'Two Tynesiders', 5s 6d; S. Townsend, 12s 6d; 'Humphreys family', 5s; 'Pax', 5s; E. Strachan Rogers, £6 6s; J. A. Purton, 7s 6d; 'Socialist Sailor', £1; E.J.B., 10s; A.M.T. for Fernando and Guilherme, 1s.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS include: H. S. Harrison, 9s; D. Brammer, 4s; T. Burgon, 4s; P. Montabello, 9s; A. Idle, 9s; W.T. (Canada), 8s 9d; T.H. (Canada), 5s 6d; T. W. Yates, 1s; J. Berger, 6s; W.C.B. (Canada), 8s 10d; D. Mukerji, £6 0s 6d; A.B.D. (Canada), 8s 9d; J. Macdonald, 9s; N. Dinning, 5s; W. McNeilly, 2s 6d; M. Woodfield, 19s; J. McLanachan, £1 1s; Dr. Naftalin, £1 1s; F. H. Oldaker, £1 1s; B. M. Steel, 19s; A.G. (U.S.A.), £2 6s 1d; L. Congreve, 6s; 'Yankee Reader', £1.

Our thanks to you all. 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.

Co-op. No. L.99482. FINchley 5135.

Published by the proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Wembley News, Wembley, Middlesex, Great Britain. Registered for transmission by Magazine Post to Canada, including Newfoundland.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHY NOT BY POST?

It's quicker
— and it's cheaper too!

NAME .....
(Please use block capitals)

ADDRESS .....

.....

.....

I enclose 21s. (Overseas, 24s., Canada and USA, $3.50), for year's subscription from the

.....issue.

(SIGNED) ....

To LABOUR MONTHLY

134, BALLARDS LANE,

LONDON, N.3.

Binder Bros. Ltd.

Building and decorating
by craftsmen

TOTtenham 2362

For all interested in the fight for Peace and Progress in the Countryside and the problems of Socialist Agriculture.

THE COUNTRY STANDARD

Quarterly 6d. By post 9d.
Annual Subscription 3/- Post free or
Send 3d. stamp for specimen copy.

THE COUNTRY STANDARD
27, Bedford St. Strand, London W.C.2

LABOUR RESEARCH

'Tories v. Unions'

'Deathbed for Rates'

1s. or 1s. 3d. by post

Labour Research Department
78, Blackfriars Rd., London, S.E.1

MIMETTE FURS LTD.

Wide range of furs, coats, stoles and capes.

117, High Street, Croydon, Surrey.
'Phone CROydon 4328

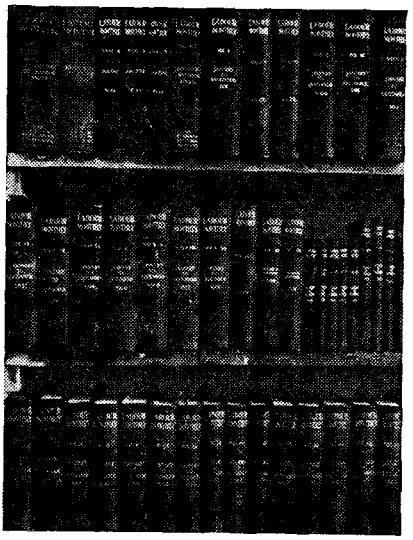
CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

(*3s. 6d. a line, minimum, 10s. 6d. Cash with order to: 'Class Ads.', Labour Monthly, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.*)

WE BUY BOOKS, pamphlets: Socialism, U.S.S.R., Comintern, Spain. We collect: PRO 7254. The Hammersmith Bookshop, Liffords Pl., S.W.13.

KENT—RAMSGATE & DISTRICT. For details of properties for sale apply: LESLIE HOGBIN & PARTNERS, 48, Queen Street, Ramsgate. Tel. Thanet 53222.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LABOUR MONTHLY BOUND VOLUMES

'Priceless as a living history of this epoch . . . '

(A. L. Morton)

Treasures the 'stately homes' do not possess

Complete your library now

Write for price list to:

The Manager, Labour Monthly, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3

25-YEAR INDEX

The Editors of *Science & Society* are pleased to announce the publication of a general index (author, subject, title and books reviewed) to the contents of the first quarter century of our journal covering the period 1936-1961.

$6.00 (paper) Pp. 146 (two columns)

Please send all orders directly to the publisher:

SCIENCE & SOCIETY, INC.

30 East 20th Street

New York, N. Y. 10003

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED